231
[583] months after the wedding, when it seems certain the marriage will last.

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435 A good, milk-giving cow is worth 50 MT, but an old cow ready for slaughter brings only 15 MT. A farmer needs at least 2 oxen for plowing, and a well-to-do farmer may have about 8. Oxen are not contributed in marriage, but are loaned or given to the groom by his father at the time land is allocated to him for plowing. A good, strong ox is worth 40 MT, but hardly ever is such a one for sale; instead, he is more commonly traded for two male calves. An old ox for slaughter can be bought for 15 MT, and if the skin is still good it may be sold in turn for up to four MT. Thus beef is much more expensive than sheep or goat meat, and is reserved for feasts.

Mule: The average peasant may own one mule, or none at all, since even a small Ethiopian mule costs 40 MT, and a Senaar mule as much as 80 MT. Feudal lords have several. Mules are rented to caravans for ETH$1.-per day; double that if the borrower is a foreigner. Relatives borrow free of charge.

Sheep: These bring from ETH$3 - $6 depending on season more than on quality, though a heavy fattail helps. The sheepskin alone can be resold for ETH$1.50, so that the meat is very cheap and within reach of almost everyone's pocketbook. The average farmer keeps perhaps a dozen sheep used

231 435 for his family's consumption, guests, and gifts, but not larger flocks, conserving grass for cattle.

Donkeys: The average peasant may have 2, to carry goods to and from the market. A good donkey may bring as much as 12 - 15 MT, but an average donkey no more than 8 MT out of season (when no caravans are about to leave. They are not usually rented, but are lent to friends and kin more freely than mules, without charge.

[234] Butter: This is sold to urban people and at big markets, wrapped in leaves. Milk is sold only by personal arrangement, directly to the house.

235 435 Chicken: These bring as little as ETH$0.50, or even $0.25, depending on season and quality. All meat prices rise sharply at the end of the lenten season. Otherwise the peasant does not bother to sell chickens to towns unless he lives very close.

Eggs: These sell for as little as ETH$0.01 a-piece, sold only since Italian occupation, and only in towns. Otherwise the peasant gives them away, or boils them in the wot.

231 435 Honey: Perhaps less than a quarter of all peasants bother to sell honey. Much depends on whether there are bees in the immediate neighborhood, and whether a town with tedj-byets (mead houses) is nearby. On the average he may put up at least 5 skeps, realize at most 10 kilos of honey from each, and obtain a maximum of ETH$50. --(US$20.) at the market.

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435 Thus, the capital of our hypothetical "average" freehold farmer would total as follows:

3 good cows	150 MT.	(ETH$225.-)
2 old cows	30 MT	45.-
2 strong oxen	80	120.-
2 old oxen	30 MT	45.-
2 donkeys	15 MT	22.-
1 mule	40 MT	60.-
6 sheep		30.-
3 goats		15.-
Total	ETH$562.-	(US$230)

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[231] Sales from livestock and livestock produce, in one year, by the average freehold farmer would be about as follows, providing ready cash:

2 old cows	ETH$45.-
1 old ox	20.-
3 sheep	15.-
10 chickens	3.-
300 eggs	3.-
50 kilos honey	50.-
Milk	5.-
	ETH$141.-

With this cash he would buy salt, raw cotton, a toga, some imported spices, coffee, and pay certain cash taxes such as the education tax. These would all be necessary expenditures. The rest would go for other items.

OK It is still tremendously difficult to make an accu-

423 It is still tremendously difficult to make an accu-
435 rate and reliable survey of "capital" and expenditures--due to concealment of property for fear of taxes. As for the value of their own land, this cannot even be estimated by observation, for not even the owners know the value of their own land. For fear of alienation, and possible higher taxes on land found to be more fertile than declared, they actually do not want to know. Most Amhara land is not even measured, and most have no clear titles, except by local "custom". The value of the tuqul hut cannot be estimated since it is not a cash item and utilizes only the raw products of nature. The same is true of utensils and equipment. Even the plowpoint is bartered rather than purchased.

C. Dietary habits

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262 The diet in general is low in proteins and vitamins, but otherwise not inadequate.[64]

The mainstay of the Amhara is a round, thin, limp, slightly sour bread "enjara", made largely from tyeff grain. After the grain has been handground by the housewife, she mixes the flour with water and lets it stand about three days. Then she pours the thickish liquid on a clay plate (called "metad") about 2 feet in diameter, covers it with a high lid of tight reeds or clay which leaves much air space. The bread is thus baked for about four minutes on top of the triangular stone hearth. The result is a leavened, spongy-surfaced but flat-bottomed limp bread about 1/4 inch thick, and about 2 feet in diameter. The meat-curry is

64. Simmons, et al, Global Epidemiology, 1951. p.64.

411 A safer version of the throwing spear, with dull or no point, is used by the young men during their mock battle and chase at the "gänna" feast (Christmas).

326 435 The economic aspects of smithcraft could provide the smith with considerable income, since the Amhara peasants are in regular need, and since the Falasha smiths have a monopoly due to the suspicions of the magic correlation which keep Amhara from the craft. But in fact the income is not large. A team of rural smiths, 5 men, receive only Eth$1.50 for their labor in making a plowpoint, if the customer brings his own scrap, double that if the smiths have to supply it. The somewhat bigger "summer plow" costs somewhat more. The customer usually waits in a special hut of the hamlet of the smiths, and must be provided with grain and other necessities, meanwhile. Thus, while an individual smith may earn as much as Eth$400.- from his craft in a year, the additional food bill may be Eth$300.-, and most of the earnings will go to pay the rent on his land, of which he farms less than the average peasant.

Even a well-made plowpoint dulls after about 10 years. Then it is brought back and the smith cuts it down to an axe ("mäterabiya") for only 50¢ Eth. When that dulls, he cuts it down further to a slightly smaller adze ("mäqofariya") for half that sum.

326 563 The human organization of smithcraft, particularly in the Amhara area where the Falasha are the smiths, presents peculiar problems and patterns. Where no Falasha hamlets are near, the smithing is done by itinerant Fa-

439 some spices, English razorblades, sewing needles, safety pins, Lux soap in Hotelroom size, laundry soap cake, [442] kerosene, etc. The wholesalers, usually Arabs, buy these [443] and sell them to Muslim Ethiopian retailers. Sometimes, in bigger towns, Arabs open regular stalls and even stores to sell these items daily, as well as special luxuries such as chocolate, hard candy, and products of the central Ethiopian government such as matches (a government monopoly), cigarettes for Muslims (also a government monopoly), school notebooks with the picture of the Emperor on the title page, pencils, imported readymade eyeglasses, etc. On their return trips the trente-quatro trucks are heavily laden with produce such as tyeff, nug, linseed, peas, beans, honey, sheepskins, cowhides, and in some areas musk from the civet cat, and coffee.

438 The purchases of the farmer consist in greater part of items from other areas of Ethiopia, notably, salt, coffee, spices, some of the raw cotton and matches. Much of this is still carried by traditional caravan, where no roads exist or where they have been washed out. Caravans form after the middle of the dry season, and return just before the rainy season, so that the farmer can stock up on staples.

435 To pay for these purchases and for some of the imported items such as razor blades, the farmer brings his produce, but prices fluctuate between seasons, with every arrival or departure of caravans (or trucks), and with distance. For example, 1 quintal (100 kilos) of

435 tyeff in Gondar brings as little as Eth$10.- but in Addis Ababa Eth$30.- and more. Nug seed bring as much as Eth$30. per 100 kilos even at the Gondar market, a rural production area. Gesho, hops, brings as much as Eth$1.- per kilo; some semi-urban farmers grow it as a parttime cash crop (also the drug plant "chat" chewed by Muslims). Other products sold by the farmer include honey, peas, beans, maize, sorghum, dagussa, spices, beeswax, chickens brought by farm women, and recently also eggs; milk, butter, livestock big and small, goat-gut ("jemat") for cordage and the "qrar" banjo. Big livestock (cows, oxen and mules) are traded only at big Saturday markets, also the fat-tailed sheep or old cow for the Sunday dinner. At the end of long fasts edible livestock is in much demand and prices may double. It is also noteworthy that despite the poor roads, modern truck transportation is so efficient economically in comparison with traditional caravans, that prices for comparable imported and long-distance domestic products are on the same scale at the big Saturday markets.

443 492 The big market is also an important governmental administrative center, especially the judicial organization. From ancient times this has been the location of the formally appointed judge, the "dayna", to arbitrate disputes that the curbstone judge has not settled, and to hear cases against accused thieves. Here the governor's trade chief, the "nägad-ras", acts as collector of revenue and supervisor of trade practices. He fixes and alters tolls on trails and river crossings,

443 651

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
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ning of a reign; which she could not do, until one of the nobles supplied her with a sum of money. There were only a few derims left in the treasury. 792

Abyssinian Harvests. They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains in June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the rains after. In September they sow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they sow barley, or fitches, again in January. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is seed-time, and harvest, and plowing, in every month in the year; water being easily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one-tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harvest, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they sometimes, nay, very often, scarce reap the seed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats, and innumerable ants, that consume their corn at different, nay, at all periods of its growth. All their five harvests do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the several villages, living, in general, is very miserable; and, in general, people of consideration scarcely know any other diet than teff bread and bouza. Whether this teff is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of master and servant. 241 [514] [262]

Abyssinian Dress. The principal part of the dress of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 2¼ peek (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow stripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not dyed; but the Surat blue cloths are unraveiled and woven for this purpose; and the yellow they dye with sûf, the yellow thistle. The best for ordinary wear costs 10 salts, or 1¼ pataka, about 6s. 6d. English. It is called Kuara, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dress are breeches, which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better sort have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and silk, or worsted-coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their stirrups between their great and 291 [435] 492

[p. 45]

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

492 second toes. Even the king rides bare-footed; and being used chiefly to mules, they are far inferior horsemen to the Arabs.

Price of Gold. Gold, at a medium, sells for 10 pataka
436 each wakea; or 10 derims, salt, at a medium 8 per pataka.
435 The piece (of salt), speaking of it identically, is called Kourman, but in estimation, or such a thing costs so many salts, they are called Amooli. These are the ordinary currency for the necessaries of life. For considerable purchases, gold is used; and there is great loss in cutting the wakea into derims, at least one in ten. The gold is got by
[316] washing the earth in water, in wooden dishes. The grains,
that remain behind are put into a quill, melted down, and
[325] alloyed, probably by the Shangalla; for it is pale, and is never brought to market in its first form, but melted down into small rods, or ingots. In Joas's time a wakea was valued only at 8 patakas. Yasous Tanush, or the II. turned round, and reduced the Sennaar Shangalla; but they are now quite independant of Habbesh. Their fair is held at Buré in Damot.

804 *Weights and Measures.* The wakea (or ounce), in Abys-
436 sinia, is considered as 10 derims, or drams, and 12 ounces make a litir, or rotol (pound). At Gondar, the capital of all Abyssinia, the wakea is 6 drams, 40 grains, Troy weight English, and divided into 10 drams of 4⁰ grains. The small money is salt bricks, dug out of the mines at Dancali, near the myrrh country. Every wakea, in ordinary times, gives from 72 to 76 salts. In 1769, the wakea was 80 salts, and June 15th, 1771, the wakea sold at 34, but there was a great difference in the size of the bricks. These are little or not at all liable to waste, as M. Montesquieu supposes. Abyssinian gold at Mocha is 15 or 16 patakas when the Sennaar gold is 22, because the Agows, &c. alloy it with silver.

At Masuah, the current money is the Venetian sequin, the pataka, or queen's dollar, and half-dollars. For small money are used grains of glass, called borjook, three of which make a chebir (Vid. Book V. Chap. ii.)

436 Corn sold at Masuah for four patakas the ardep, which
contains about 24 measures of the country. Coffee, six ro-
304 tol per pataka, sometimes ten, or even 15 rotol. Honey,

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

four cuba for a pataka, each cuba about two rotol, or somewhat less. Butter, 20 rotol, for 1½ pataka, and 3½ harf. Civet, 1¼ pataka the wakea. Wax, 4 patt. the faranzola. Elephants teeth, 35 rotol for 18 patt. Water, 1½ paras the smallest jar, and 3 paras the largest. Abyssinian gold dust, 15 patt. per wakea, at Mocha. Dora, 12 measures for a pataka. The Venetian sequin goes for 2¼ patakas.

The Abyssinian grain measure is the ardeb, which, at Gondar, contains 10 measures, called Madega, each equal to 12 ounces, Cairo weight. An ardeb of grain costs 2 derims, or 2 patakas; an ardeb of teff, the same; 6 or 8 ardeb of tocusso pay an ounce (wakea) of gold, or 10 derims.

Servants Wages at Gondar *. At Gondar a maid-servant receives 15 salts per annum, and is fed in the house. A man-servant is paid 4 pataka yearly, which correspond to four wakea, or ounces of gold, Abyssinian weight, and receives besides two loaves, or cakes of teff, for his support daily. If his master is good, he sometimes gives him a little flesh, lentils, or vetches. He is not obliged to clothe him, but he sometimes gives him a pair of trowsers, which consist of about one-fourth of a yard of white cloth.

With respect to carriage, &c. three bundles of wood, which are brought from Tchagassa, three hours walking, cost a salt. The carriage of a jar, or manteca, full of wine, or honey, from Emfras, eight hours journey, pays a salt, of the weight of 3 faranzala, or so.

Thirty-three teff bread cost a salt; the loaves are about 3 lines thick, and 18 inches diameter. A pair of shoes (pantufle) cost a salt. 8¼ peeks of cloth is the least gift that can be offered in the country.

Bouza. Manner in which the Abyssinians make a kind of beer, that, in their language, is called bouza.

To make this, they use tocusso simply; but sometimes they mix it with grain (wheat), or dora, or all three together; but in ordinary tocusso is best. A jar of tocusso, or of the three sorts of grain, contains as much as is sufficient to make two loaves, that are a tenth part of the whole jar; besides which, they use about half a rotol of Ghesh leaves.

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* From this, to the 29th line of page 68, is a translation from the Italian of L. Balugani.

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7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

622 nors.'[1] An interesting confirmation of this comes from a later date: the British minister in 1939 reported that after two years of bitter experience the Italians found they could not run the country without the co-operation of the Ethiopians at the village level, and were trying to restore the village organization.

The Emperor claimed to appoint the *chiqa-shum* but we may assume that in this and in the other matters discussed in this chapter he intervened to do so when and where he had the power. The *shum* was generally too small a man to attract imperial attention and a strong governor would, without doubt, play his part in the matter. According to Krapf the *shum* was appointed by the governor at the request of the villagers [435] and paid twenty pieces of rock salt, then valued at one dollar, for the appointment which he held only for a year.[2] The choice, whether made by Emperor or governor, was clearly limited by the character of the office; its value depended upon the local status and representative capacity of the holder. In some communities the appointment might be for a period or even for life, but it was also a widespread custom in the north for the office to rotate yearly amongst the leading men of a few families, generally those whose prestige rested upon their descent from the family which founded the group. There were, of course, a number of privileges and perquisites in the form of gifts for the *shum*. There were differences in his official rewards; in some areas he got no more than exemption from taxes. In a vivid Ethiopian comment, 'he . . . pays tribute only with his legs, running up, and down to carry the orders of the Government'.[3] In other parts, however, it appears that he retained some proportion of the taxes he collected for the government. It would be very valuable if further investigation could be made into this obscure but all-important office and into the position which, after all that has happened since 1935, it holds to-day.

[1] Hotten, p. 157.
[2] Krapf, J. L., and Isenberg, C. W., *Journals*, 1843, p. 280.
[3] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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more completely, is to violate the conventions of the gwadeña relationship, and to close it off to ego altogether. Moreover, the intense gwadeña relationship, which binds pairs of kiyne students is typically brittle, and is infrequent in later years when commercially valuable abinet are being acquired. Finally the gwadeña relationship is antithetical to the independent and aloof (kuruw) character associated with the man who owns strong abinet.

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The exchange of labor for abinet is difficult to arrange. An abinet owner must be found who is disposed to such exchanges, and has not already obtained someone to fulfill his needs. For the recipient, the exchange means often demeaning work over an extended period of time, with a humiliating lack of an effective quid pro quo, in order to acquire a single abinet study.

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Debteras are not reluctant to price their abinet studies, in Ethiopian dollars, for prospective purchasers. Since a man's standing as a practitioner of abinet is intimately related to the effectiveness of his individual studies, the evaluation of his abinet against a nearly universal standard of value (Ethiopian dollars) is likely to be understood as an implicit personal challenge. Thus, the owner's evaluation of his abinet is inevitably greater than any amount likely to be paid. Prices range from E$50. to E$500., immense sums relative

*756 *787 *793 * 435 437 to the modest cash reserves of the potential purchaser whose money reserves are unlikely to exceed E$150. There is no haggling, in the sense that the purchaser offers a counter-price which is closer to the study's real value, for injury to the owner's pride would be certain to end negotiations. Rather, the prospective purchaser asks for special consideration on the grounds that the seller is his wadajey ("friend", but not peer), and that his assistance is needed. If the abinet owner is amenable to the appeal, a price is set at one-half, one-quarter, or even less of the study's assessed value. Even so, the cost of abinet is sufficiently great to deplete the purchaser's reserves in short order should he persist with such purchases.

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*756 *787 *793 437 Before a man can begin to exchange abinet for abinet, he must obtain a sufficient variety of valuable studies in order to interest other debteras in an exchange. Once acquired, an abinet repertoire proves itself a superior medium of exchange for acquiring more abinet. Unlike friendship, abinet are entirely liquid; unlike labor purchase, abinet exchange is neither demeaning nor time-consuming; unlike money pruchase, it involves neither principal in difficult price setting, and far from being exhausted, the abinet capital tends to grow the more a debtera "spends" of it.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
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*793 Mithat works are particularly important for publicly validating the debtera's ability to tap ganel sources of power. Although a debtera may in truth renounce his familiars, he keeps this his professional secret. For his public, only the possession of ganel familiars validates an awakiy debtera's grade. Thus the awakiy debtera is committed to demonstrating the overt complicity of ganels in his works. He accomodates these expectations of his public by either simulating ganel cooperation, or employing a neutral medium for reaching the ganels. Here, as in his other diagnostic and therapeutic works, the debtera presents through artifice a public demonstration of healing power that is more convincing and manageable than reality would allow.

Laymen are uncertain whether an awakiy debtera need pull a ganel for each prophylactic, therapeutic, or pathogenic work that he performs, or whether the information he obtains at one session is relevant to similar episodes involving subsequent clients. In a specific episode, it is usually the debtera who determines whether a demonstration of ganel pulling is necessary. He is careful to learn his client's expectations in this matter. The debtera learns this implicitly, through the mechanism of
• [435] fee setting. The calling of ganels is an expensive service, and agreement by the client to a fee of E$50. or more indicates that evidence of ganel complicity is expected.

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it. Bogalec decided to take the boy to a yikoruba medhaniyt seci who lived in a nearby hamlet, who was reputed to be able to recognize koruba. The herbalist, a
*278 *759 *767 woman, was consulted within hours of the irruptions, for Bogalec knew that koruba advances rapidly and, after a day's time, is no longer susceptible to treatment. The herbalist examined the irruptions, diagnosed the ailment as koruba, and gave Bogalec a leaf with directions that it be ground, mixed with hydromel (birz) and given to the child in small increments. The infusion was a strong emetic and purge, and, since there was no memelesa, Bogalec had to watch the child carefully lest he be overcome by the therapy. After two applications, Bogalec stopped, for fear that a third would kill the child.
[758] The boy was afterwards fed a liver restorative. During his recuperation, Bogalec and her husband took care not to speak the word "koruba" before the boy; in addition, he was given no talla beer. Either action could have in-
[435] duced a fatal relapse.[50] The herbalist asked for and received a fee of $1., but told Bogalec that the money would be given to the parish church, since she did not intend to profit from her curing.

[50] A similar injunction is followed for certain other ailments, even where there is no present danger, particularly "kuntina" (leprosy).

*278 *755 *756 *757 *759 wise. After a minute, the practitioner declared that Tesfahun had not contracted the ailment. The fukura was was paid E$1., and Tesfahun was given no therapy. His companions were later taken to this practitioner, who after diagnosis indicated that both had contracted rabies, and required therapy. None of the participants attempted to obtain an explanation for this epidemiological pattern. This consisted of herbals mixed with the milk of a cow nursing a calf of its own color. The infusion was a violent purgative, and a nemeleša permitted its safe application until blood had appeared in the evacuae. This was taken as a sign that the disease substance had been destroyed and was being eliminated. Although all of this had taken place within one week of the dog's attack, the principals were aware that the ailment can be treated successfully within four weeks of an attack. After that time, no therapy, however powerful it may be, can succeed. The fukura sold his therapy at the of E$10. for each boy. Although the fee was paid on receipt of therapy, this was not necessary; the payment could have been made to a third party (a gwadeña of the client), who would then transmit the money to the therapist once the therapy had proven itself effective.

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